

Castro, but only if we are treated as equals and never again like blind pawns.

"We will provide men for democracy's cause, but they will also have to offer men. We will only go back under a mixed command with both forces represented. Never shall there be another time when the Cuban commanders are called in the night before the invasion, not to discuss or agree on plans, but to be told what to do."

SATURDAY, APRIL 22

("You are following a very dangerous path—ponder that," Premier Khrushchev cabled President Kennedy from Moscow. The President's role was beginning to reach American readers. Still he declined any press conference comment, wryly noting that "victory has many fathers but defeat is an orphan." Following a National Security Council meeting, Mr. Kennedy flew to Camp David to confer with General Eisenhower. He named Gen. Maxwell Taylor (retired) to probe the Cuban fiasco in the CIA and Pentagon.)

"Last night we heard over radio the TV quiz, including that coward Jimenez who talked too much. Was Carmencita listening to his slander and does she believe we were yellow? They also announced the capture of Manuelo—who is right here with us—one more heartache for those at home.

"This afternoon we dropped anchor in Puerto Cabezas again, where another of our ships has already arrived.

"Several of our airmen came aboard and told us we lost 12 planes and 11 pilots—another crash-landed his plane on the airstrip inside our beachhead but was rescued. Minutes later Castro's militia retook the field, they said.

"A thousand acts of heroism were performed by our brave pilots flying B-26 bombers without a single fighter to protect them. We had none, but they told us: 'Don't worry, whenever you are near Cuba modern fighter aircraft will approach and cover you—the air support is going to be fantastic.'

"Support lacking"

"American air support was totally lacking, after a stream of dispatches demanding fulfillment of those promises they told us the Cuban air commander frantically sent one to President Kennedy himself, saying because of him our pilots were daily flying into suicide.

"Now rumor has it we cannot land, but upon transferring our gasoline tomorrow are to be sent off to Puerto Rico. After discussing this very seriously we all served notice that (1) our families must be notified at once of our safety, (2) we must get rid of that gasoline immediately, (3) we would go to Puerto Rico or anywhere they ordered us by plane but not in this freighter and (4) we would stop the ship from weighing anchor until we got a satisfactory reply from the authorities."

SUNDAY, APRIL 23

(Another minor mutiny flared up over a U.S. television show. Secretary of Interior Udall said of the Cuban fiasco that the Eisenhower-Nixon administration "started it." The GOP exploded with self-righteous wrath. President Kennedy indirectly rebuked Udall and publicly accepted "sole responsibility for the events of the past few days.")

"A 'gentleman' came aboard and told us to write our families, promising our letters would leave at once for Miami, and that besides he would try to get off a cable. He said the gasoline would be unloaded promptly but our destination could not be decided until tomorrow, when someone very important is coming to the base.

"This calmed us down a bit, but by now we believe nothing.

"The other ship came alongside to take some of our oil. There were some survivors of the beachhead on board, who told us the landing was easy early on D-Day morning,

and quite a surprise. But at 7 a.m., they said, one of our ships got stuck and soon came under heavy enemy fire which prevented the unloading of half her cargo.

Two hours later another ship, hit by a rocket from a plane exploded after luckily completing the landing operation. What a rough deal they had and how much deceit!

"Days numbered"

"Yet in spite of everything, considering how world affairs are going, the policies the American President is making and the hardening of hemispheric opposition to Castro, I am sure his days are numbered. Nobody will save him in the end. Maybe Cubans won't have the stellar role in the final act that we played this time, but our fighting failure predetermined the ending.

"We know our countrymen who stayed behind in Miami will ridicule us for our naive faith, or with worse words, but we shall reserve our judgment of them.

"We heard Mass this afternoon at an altar set up on the dock by the chaplain of the airbase. All our other priests fell in Cuba. In his sermon the Father insisted we had only lost one round, and said he will help get us home for a rest before the second."

MONDAY, APRIL 24

"The atmosphere is still superheated—there is talk of a revolt to force them to take us back to Miami.

"The expected 'very important people' visited us at lunch time. They turned out to be Cubans. They asked us details about everything and urged us to stay with the Army of Liberation and carry on the fight.

"We asked them to intercede and get us to our families for a few days. They said they would, but that we should consider ourselves on leave, not discharged. We talked a long while and became more calm and confident of our ultimate victory.

"A little later we received the order to disembark and go to the airbase, where we arrived just as the first planeload of survivors took off for Florida. This time the Cuban Revolutionary Council did keep its promise."

TUESDAY, APRIL 25

(On this date the New York Post reported that Dr. Miro Cardona and the Cuban Revolutionary Council had been held under virtual house arrest by CIA agents and kept in ignorance of Cuban developments until the landing had clearly failed. New York Governor Rockefeller met with President Kennedy and called upon all Americans to unite behind him.)

"While waiting for our flight we looked over the B-26's which got back from Cuban missions. They are not planes anymore; they are sieves. I cannot imagine how the pilots are still alive.

"If from the start the Army of Liberation had possessed just 8 or 10 modern fighter planes, instead of only B-26 bombers with no tail protection at all, how different our story could have been.

"Our pilots tell me that two of the best American flight instructors at this base, denouncing the failure to provide the promised fighter cover, got into two of the B-26's against orders and took off for Cuba themselves.

"Alas, both of them paid for this beautiful gesture with their lives. They fell on Cuban soil, demonstrating to us they were the good Americans, loyal and truly believing what they had told us.

"So we'll all be home in Miami by morning, determined to try again as soon as the time is ripe to free Cuba—Cuba libre."

(Mr. LAIRD (at the request of Mrs. MAY) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

[Mr. LAIRD'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. PATMAN, for 30 minutes, today, and for 30 minutes, on Wednesday, September 6, 1961, and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. FEIGHAN, for 60 minutes, on Tuesday, September 5, 1961.

Mr. FISHER, for 20 minutes, today.

Mr. OLSEN, for 20 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mr. DOWDY and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. DORN and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. AVERY and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. HOLLAND (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) in six instances.

Mr. ROOSEVELT (at the request of Mr. ALBERT).

Mr. VAN ZANDT (at the request of Mrs. MAY) in two instances.

Mr. MATHIAS (at the request of Mrs. MAY).

Mr. JOHANSEN and include extraneous matter.

Mr. MCCORMACK (at the request of Mr. FLOOD) and include a newspaper article.

Mr. HOLTZMAN (at the request of Mr. FLOOD) and include extraneous matter.

Mr. YOUNGER (at the request of Mrs. MAY) in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. BROMWELL (at the request of Mrs. MAY) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. DERWINSKI (at the request of Mrs. MAY) and to include extraneous matter.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker pro tempore:

H.R. 4785. An act to provide specific authority for Federal payments of the employer's share of the cost of retirement systems for civilian employees of the National Guard and to extend the authority for withholding employee contributions to State retirement systems by permitting deductions of employees' contributions to State-sponsored plans providing retirement disability or death benefits;

H.R. 7809. An act to improve the active duty promotion opportunity of Air Force officers from the grade of major to the grade of lieutenant colonel; and

H.R. 7934. An act to authorize the Secretaries of the military departments to make emergency payments to persons who are injured or whose property is damaged as a result of aircraft or missile accidents, and for other purposes.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER pro tempore announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

by surprise and practically without casualties as they told us so many times.

"By afternoon we hear that our forces are being attacked by heavy tanks and jets. The Americans told us positively that such arms would not be used against us—for reasons only they knew—so our troops neither trained nor took with them any anti-tank or antiaircraft guns.

"But perhaps this news is only for propaganda purposes—to give Mr. (Adlai) Stevenson at the United Nations an excuse for saying that the United States will not allow Russian help for Castro.

"The captain just told us to try on our lifejackets and keep them close at hand. It is comforting, though, to see the American destroyers and Navy jets buzzing around us.

"Something has gone wrong in the landing.

"Near Great * * * Island we got dispatch orders to stop, and soon afterward another of our ships was sighted apparently coming from Cuba. When it got nearer we recognized it as the *Caribe*, and a destroyer closed in and seemingly told it to stop also.

"Holes in ship

"Three of its seven landing craft were still on deck, though half the life rafts are gone. Some said they could see holes in the ship's side.

"After dark we received orders to proceed north, but slowly, and wait for a boat which would unload our aviation gasoline for use at an airport they have just conquered. What airport can this be? Anyway we'll be glad to be rid of the danger of explosion.

"My sofa in the captain's office is right next to the main radio telephone. I can hear all the talk between ships as I lie awake, and the orders issued them to maneuver.

"Sometimes it sounds optimistic, but most of the time worried, and so we await the day.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19 (D-DAY PLUS 2)

(Castro's well-trained and Communist-armed regular troops crushed the invasion with tanks and artillery, taking some 1,200 prisoners who fought until their ammunition was exhausted. After knocking down the lumbering B-26's, Castro's fast fighters freely strafed the diminishing beachhead. In glum silence, Washington prepared for the worst.)

"I think things are going badly despite the hopeful gains reported by Swan Island (U.S.) radio.

"We were only 5 hours from Cuba when unexplained orders came to stop again. Over the radiotelephone reports keep coming from the beachhead saying they are under attack by superior forces with tanks and planes and that without reinforcements they don't know how much longer they can hold out.

"Ten a.m.—Pleas for help from the land increase alarmingly. They are asking for immediate assistance from jets in order to survive. Apparently only a small group is holding the beach and using the phone from a little seashore village, while the rest of our troops are completely surrounded.

"Over all channels we are getting messages for the flagship of the U.S. Navy division which escorted us, demanding jets and the cooperation which a thousand times was offered us if we were attacked by enemy jets or heavy tanks.

"What bitter hours we spent hearing over and over again the same answer—while the best of Cuban men who unhesitatingly offered their lives to the fatherland were being destroyed by the Communist hordes.

"Our hearts are with you," they answer. "We have communicated this desperate situation to our superiors and surely, very soon, we will get authorization from the big boss to help you."

"Eleven a.m.—All the Cuban ships have asked the flagship for permission to go ashore ourselves and help our desperate friends. Except for our 100 men, the others have only their own crews and the cargo they never have been able to disembark.

"Finally, after 11:30 a.m., we were overjoyed to hear:

"To the entire fleet—proceed at full speed toward the beachhead. We have ordered four jets which are already airborne on their way to attack and four more are coming from a nearby place. To all ships—proceed according to Operation Plan 1."

"Ships start north

"All the ships started due north, easily pulling ahead of us. (No boat ever came to offload our gasoline.) We did the best we could with our poor engines.

"Doubt no more. They are going to give us the support they promised. We are seeing it with our own eyes and hearing it with our own ears over official circuits. Not that we have much; the fight at the beach will not be easy.

"Some of us are going to stay there, but they have not deceived us. They have fulfilled their promises.

"After this military move of plain and open help, how can they hold back? Our sacrifice will not be sterile, and in a few weeks Cuba will be free of Fidel and communism.

"Brief happiness

"I went to bathe and put on my camouflage suit for landing, but my joy and happiness were brief. When I came out of the shower, everyone seemed wilted. 'What's wrong?' I asked.

"It's too late. The beachhead is lost. There has been no answer from shore, and reports from the jets are very confusing."

"A few minutes later we heard:

"To the entire fleet—alter your course 180 degrees."

"I went out on deck for one look at the Cuban coast—my first and last. What a tragedy. All lost. A series of accidents saved this ship from disaster, for which thanks to God, but how many (and who?) are gone forever along with our hopes of saving the fatherland?"

"Useless sacrifice

"So much sacrifice—so useless.

"If they were going to help us, use force if necessary as they just demonstrated—why haven't they been doing it since yesterday afternoon when our brave boys were attacked by jets and tanks?"

"They will never be able to explain why they waited so long.

"They have no pardon in the eyes of God. Nor will I ever forgive them (though Castro and his regime are doomed) for having permitted the slaughter of such a quantity of Cubans.

"Now we are ordered to keep an alert watch for enemy planes. They have sunk two of our transports.

"Such air cover have they given us, the * * *"

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD the third part of the invasion diary which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on Wednesday, August 23, 1961.

VANQUISHED VOICE "FREE CUBA" HOPE—ALL NEWS BAD AS DEJECTED BAND SAILS HOME IN ABORTIVE INVASION

(By Robert T. Hartmann)

WASHINGTON.—Through two preceding installments from the personal diary of Dr. Arturo Lopez, pseudonym of a patriotic Cuban physician who volunteered for last April's abortive attempt to rid Cuba of Castro, Times readers have witnessed the collapse of the invasion and with it the

writer's last hope for promised American help. Dr. Lopez' concluding entries resume as the gasoline-loaded freighter that brought him agonizingly within sight of his native shore strains its ancient engines to reach safety before it, too, is spotted and sunk by Communist jets.

THURSDAY, APRIL 20

(As the enormity of the Bay of Pigs disaster dawned on disbelieving Americans, President Kennedy told the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington "our restraint is not inexhaustible" and vowed Cuba would not be abandoned to the Communists. That evening, he conferred with former Vice President Nixon.)

"We have been blacked out completely since dusk last night, when we changed course from east to south—back to Nicaragua. We all gathered to pray a rosary for the souls of those who died.

"Slowly our own normal fear of physical danger changed, as time crept by, into almost an obsession that our families must be told we are OK. How I wish Juanita could be with Carmencita in this trying hour. How much better I would feel if I knew.

"It is not easy to accept hard truth even when one clearly understands. We have been glued all day to the radio trying to sift conflicting stories wondering if we might still do something.

"According to Swan Island, the fight goes on. According to Fidel, all is finished. Our analysis rejected sentimentalities and forced us to the worst conclusion. But what now of us? Will Nicaragua accept us after all this publicity?"

We have a favorable wind and should reach port early tomorrow, luckier than most of my friends. I'll find some way, by fair means or foul, to get word to Carmencita that I'm alive.

"Havana Radio is charging the invasion started from Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua. So of course we turn around again, north northeast, heading for Puerto Rico. Now the wind is against us, and it will take 4 or 5 days at our poor speed. The ship shakes a lot, and some of the men are seasick. I distributed seasickness pills.

"Heard names of prisoners

"We heard the first few names of prisoners, Pepe among them. His brother is with us, and through we invented a thousand lies to cheer him up he says he would rather Pepe were dead. They will break him first and then execute him. He is very brave—a true man!

"They announced the old TV show with the prisoners for tonight—I hope Pepe is not on it. Some doctors' names were given, of course not from our group. But what is Carmencita thinking of this? She knew about about the hospital ship we planned to work on, and when she hears the enemy reports of medical supplies destroyed (as they really were) will she think we were sunk?"

"No—didn't I write her saying there was no hospital ship? I pray to God she hasn't got my last letter, probably she hasn't. Some are playing dominoes. I played checkers awhile, trying to relax.

"Suddenly, the ship stops—new course; toward Nicaragua again.

"What game is this they're playing?"

"Are we supposed to steam up and down the Caribbean Sea until the United Nations or the Organization of American States solves the problem of Cuba versus the United States?"

"Let them do as they like, but let us talk to our loved ones. We are Latins, not of a Saxon temperament.

"Naturally there is much tension, our spirits are overheated, and we argue a lot. The future, I think, holds much misery for us. We will not quit trying to defeat Fidel

my letter back and wrote her much more, not knowing when she might receive it. Finally we left Guatemala in a military plane, about 10 p.m. We spent the 3½-hour flight speculating where we were going, using our new compasses.

"(We shall not fail for lack of equipment!)"

"When we flew due east we wondered: Jamaica? In the time announced it would be impossible to reach Guantanamo or Haiti, much less Puerto Rico. Maybe a key south of Cuba?"

THURSDAY, APRIL 13

"Apparently that compass doesn't work well in a plane. We landed in Nicaragua early this morning.

"Waiting were familiar faces—the boys from our air force (names deleted). Again we boarded trucks, but the medical team rated a jeep, and were taken to a railroad station.

"Loaded into freight cars, close and dark, so nobody could identify us as invading Cubans with full military equipment, we had a luckily brief ride to the wharf. There the ships were awaiting us.

"And I found out we had been deceived about a hospital ship.

"No hospital ship

"The hospital ship they had promised us never existed. Now I doubt if anything I had believed was the truth, and I wonder whether we are really going to get all the necessary support to conquer.

"I turned my back on the American doctor who broke the news, saying my colleagues and I would give him our decision the next day. It was about 3 in the morning. All the ships were packed with people but ours had not yet arrived.

"The chief medical officer offered Dr. Pepe and me his own cabin, but we refused and remained all night with our team on the pier, debating what to do."

FRIDAY, APRIL 14

"Pepe and I were invited to have breakfast with the fleet commander, a very nice Cuban, who said we were justified in our displeasure. We asked him to get us in to see the American chiefs who call themselves our allies and directors of all this operation. We wanted to tell them our decision: not to go in the expeditionary boat assigned us.

"It seemed silly to go through more discomfort and worse difficulties for a whole week without any chance to do our professional duties as physicians. But since we had given our word and despite our doubts due to the many lies already disclosed, we wanted to help our fellow citizens by being flown to Cuba as soon as a plane could land and a hospital could be set up on the beachhead.

"Better argument

"Well, we argued all day—almost 12 hours—with no less than six people who gave us all kinds of unconvincing explanations. Finally they took us to the top American, who informed us he was giving the orders in military matters.

"We did everything but come to blows with him.

"After I told him a thing or two, this American dared to say they were sacrificing more for Cuba than we are.

"I answered they were serving their own interests and I would not tolerate anyone giving me lessons in patriotism.

"Then the commander of the Cuban air force, who wanted us to go and treat the wounded troops, stepped in. He took the American over to a corner to stop our violent argument. Left alone, Pepe and I decided we could not destroy any of the high spirit and confidence of the troops or abandon them at the hour of their departure.

"Departure delayed

"We went over to the Cuban and American commanders and said we would go under any circumstances. We shook hands and bade the Americans goodbye.

"We turned our backs and went aboard the *Lake Charles*, the ship assigned to us. I was given a good sofa in the captain's office. We ate with the captain and officers and are comfortably taken care of. The other ships got the order to depart, but we are waiting for some reason."

SATURDAY, APRIL 15 (D-DAY MINUS 2)

(On this date three Cuban air bases were simultaneously bombed and two B-26's landed in Florida. There one pilot said he and two others had defected from Castro's air force. As Americans learned much later and the Communists knew then, they were part of the invasion plan and took off from "secret" Central American bases. Castro ordered general mobilization.)

"Our expedition consists of five 2,500-ton freighters about 240 feet long with only four or five cabins in each. They are loaded with jeeps, trucks, landing craft and a tremendous cargo of highly explosive aviation gasoline to be used by our planes once we seize the airport after the landing.

"If, during an attack, one spark should reach the gasoline the explosion would put us all in orbit.

"We continue tied up to the pier, waiting for our fuel tanks to be filled and speculating where the landing will be. Most of us think either the Isle of Pines or San Julian in Pinar del Rio.

"Tanker 40 hours late

"There are a lot of cracks, not too tranquilizing, about being put on this 'floating atomic bomb,' which is supposed to refuel the other ships off the beachhead. Now our expected tanker is already 40 hours late.

"My gastritis is worse. I cannot understand how things can get so fouled up in an operation like this. I spent most of the day in bed on canned skimmed milk and paregoric, sick too with disillusionment at the deceit about the hospital ship of which we were the victims.

"But I was happily excited about the bombing of three airports in Cuba, which the American doctors who notified us said were very successful. We did especially heavy damage to the one at Santiago. It surprised us, though, that our entire air fleet had not taken part so as to accomplish complete destruction.

"Bomber attack

"I had seen 20 or 25 big bombers but only 8, it seems, took part in the attack. For surprise and psychological impact the first blow should have been as hard as possible. There were plenty of pilots, aircraft and bombs to do it.

"Why wasn't it done?"

SUNDAY, APRIL 16 (D DAY MINUS 1)

(On this date Castro challenged the United States to produce the Cuban pilots before the United Nations, and Washington dummied up tight on the whole affair. At the White House, evidently on representations from U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson relayed through the State Department, President Kennedy issued secret orders (to the CIA, unbeknown to the Pentagon) cancelling the second air strike by free Cuban B-26 bombers scheduled to knock out Castro's nine fighter planes in known locations. The invaders naturally knew nothing of this.)

"We were surprised the air raid was not repeated today as we know the landings are about to start.

"About noon the tanker finally showed up and we got our orders to depart as soon as it was dark.

"I wrote my last letter to Carmencita. We all prayed a rosary in the bow of the ship. I had no chance for communion as I promised Carmencita. We all prayed only three fathers and they have already sailed for Cuba.

"Besides our surgical team there are in all about 100 men aboard as we cast off."

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD that part of the invasion diary which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on Tuesday, August 22, 1961:

[From the Los Angeles Times, Aug. 22, 1961]

INVASION DIARY: CUBAN BITTER AT LACK OF AID

(By Robert T. Hartmann)

WASHINGTON.—Dr. Arturo Lopez, a fictitious name for a real Cuban physician who volunteered for last April's ill-fated attempt to liberate his native island, kept a fascinating personal diary of his mounting fears and frustrations.

In the first entries, published exclusively by the Times Monday, he described the high hopes of the invaders as they left their secret training camps in Guatemala and Nicaragua and sailed for Cuba, his discovery at dockside that the hospital ship he believed promised by the American authorities was not available, and his decision after angry argument to embark anyway in an old freighter loaded with aviation gasoline.

As the SS *Lake Charles* steams toward Cuba, 2 days behind the bulk of the small invasion fleet, the Cuban patriots cheer a surprise strike by their B-26 bombers on three Castro air bases, raising Dr. Lopez' spirits but puzzling him when a second Sunday air raid mysteriously fails to materialize. Never dreaming it had been canceled at the 11th hour by President Kennedy himself, the doctor continues his diary:

MONDAY, APRIL 17 (D-DAY)

(At 2 a.m. on this day some 1,200 to 1,600 U.S.-trained and equipped Cuban exiles, calling themselves the "army of liberation," launched an amphibious assault on the swamp-surrounded beaches of Bahía de Cochinos, the Bay of Pigs, south of Havana. Initially they achieved tactical surprise and swiftly seized the nearest airstrip at Jagüey Grande. In Washington, Secretary of State Rusk reiterated that "there is not and will not be any intervention there by U.S. forces.")

"I awoke with the ship's radio blaring news of the invasion."

"Overjoyed, we all remained glued to the radio and telegraphic equipment, trying to get news from New York or our own forces in Cuba because we knew all the propaganda stations were telling lies.

"There was a report that other great landings had occurred at the Isle of Pines, Bacacon and Pinas del Rio. Where did those troops come from? The men were joking that at the last minute maybe the people in Miami decided to go and fight for Cuba.

"Altogether we are quite optimistic. Personally, I am feeling a lot better already, I started cutting down on the paregoric—I don't know how much longer it has to last."

TUESDAY, APRIL 18 (D-DAY PLUS 1)

(On this day, while fog of war shrouded the Bay of Pigs, President Kennedy received a message from Premier Khrushchev warning him to call off the Cuban intervention. He replied that the United States "can take no action to stifle the spirit of liberty.")

"We are still 100 miles away from Cuba.

"All we can do is think about our families, and how worried they must be, believing us under fire.

"I wonder how much the medical skill of our team must already be needed by our friends on land—or did the landing go off

Record this message from H. E. August Zaleski to the Polish people behind the Iron Curtain and those scattered in various parts of the world:

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND TO THE POLISH NATION

H. E. August Zaleski, President of the Republic of Poland has issued the following message to the Poles all over the world to mark the 22d anniversary of the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939:

"On this anniversary, every Pole cannot but recall the bitter memory of the attack upon our native country by Germany allied with Russia, in order to effect yet another partition of Poland.

"In spite of the heroic resistance of the Polish forces, who fought unaided by our allies, the two age-old enemies of our country overran the whole Republic of Poland. This occupation, which violated all the tenets of international law, was unparalleled in modern times in its efforts to exterminate the whole Polish Nation, and in this, both the occupying powers vied with each other in the atrocities they committed for the eradication of everybody and everything that was Polish. Despite this, the Polish nation carried on the struggle without interruption and with boundless devotion.

The fight was waged by the Polish forces in exile, by the home army in Poland, and by every citizen of the Republic regardless of status, age, sex, and ethnic origin. Our allies were lavish in encouraging and praising us while the fighting lasted. Apart from their treaty commitments to Poland, the United States and Great Britain on August 14, 1941, proclaimed the Atlantic Charter, which defined principles upon which the future structure of the world was to rest.

On January 1, 1942, the Soviet Union and the other Allies accepted these principles. They guaranteed freedom and independence to all nations.

This did not, however, prevent the principal signatories of the charter from concluding the shameful accords of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. The present dire state of world relations brought about these agreements must be evident to those who drew them up. It can be stated without any exaggeration that since hostility ceased, the world has been continually passing from one crisis to another. Their duration varies, but they all end in more or less sizable concessions to the advantage of the one country, which still conducts a large-scale imperialistic policy, i.e., Soviet Russia. Under the pretext of spreading the Communist creed or of ensuring her own security, Russia is extending her influences in every part of the world, whilst the West—terrified by the phantom of atomic war—has hitherto not managed to take the single step that could hold up this advance of Russian imperialism. And this step is the demand that Russia withdraw from all the lands lawlessly seized by her.

But there are signs that the time when this will be done is approaching. Thus, the President of the United States said on March 8 this year: "We must never, at any summit, in any treaty declaration, in our minds, recognize Soviet domination of eastern Europe." Whilst on the 20th anniversary of the Atlantic Charter, he affirmed that time has not changed and events have not dimmed the historic principles expressed in the Atlantic Charter. "We are still," he said, "determined to protect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live."

It is indubitable that the present difficult international position is the outcome of that departure from the principles of the Atlantic Charter which consisted primarily in bringing a hundred millions of the population of

Europe under the Russian yoke. We trust that this blunder can still be repaired. All that is necessary is clearly and boldly to revert to the ideals of freedom and justice that were abandoned for momentary and insignificant gains.

CUBAN INVASION DIARY

(Mr. LAIRD (at the request of Mrs. MAY) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, there have been called to my attention three articles written by Mr. Robert T. Hartmann, chief of the Los Angeles Times' Washington Bureau, under the title, "Invasion Diary." These articles contain unusual background information concerning the attitude of a Cuban doctor who left his U.S. practice and volunteered to help rid his native island of Fidel Castro in last April's ill-fated invasion.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD the first in this series of articles which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on Monday morning, August 21, 1961:

[From the Los Angeles Times, Aug. 21, 1961]
INVASION DIARY: CUBAN TELLS LOSS OF FAITH IN UNITED STATES

(By Robert T. Hartmann)

WASHINGTON.—Here is an absorbing human document—the uninhibited diary of a Cuban doctor who left his U.S. practice and volunteered to help rid his native island of Fidel Castro in last April's ill-fated invasion.

Dr. Arturo Lopez—which is not his name—penned his innermost feelings and personal observations as they came to him during the eventful fortnight that took him from a training base in Guatemala to the jumping-off point in Nicaragua and within a tantalizing stone's throw of his goal. His diary, made available to the Times by a responsible U.S. official who received it from reliable Cuban sources, is here published for the first time.

HE LOSES FAITH IN UNITED STATES

More fascinating than fiction, the diary contains few facts not known to Castro's expert military interrogators who have been working over the free Cuban survivors for months. The shocking details of the Bay of Pigs disaster also have been reconstructed for Americans by able reporters working with sources more comprehensively informed than Dr. Lopez.

What is unique about his account is that it reveals, even in English translation, the slow erosion of one Cuban's faith in the United States, the soaring and shattering of high hopes on which he and his comrades staked their lives, and the cruel impact of what seemed a bewildering betrayal upon a bit player in a colossal tragedy of errors.

This patriot physician was not enmeshed in the Cuban refugee politics which contributed along with American bungling to the debacle.

LITTLE COMFORT FOR AMERICANS

His private concerns are simple and readily recognizable by anyone who has ever waited off a dark invasion beach—his beloved Carmencita and the freedom of his country. The diary records his fears for close Cuban friends and comrades in arms, whose names have been disguised or deleted by this reporter, along with other inconsequential details which might still give aid or comfort to the enemy.

But there is little comfort left for Americans in this intimate and passionately Latin account of the April agony of one free Cuban, except that he survived. Others were less

lucky, including two hitherto unsung Americans whose heroism Dr. Lopez relates in his final entry.

MONDAY, APRIL 10, 1961

(For several days reports have been published in Cuba and the United States that Cuban exiles are preparing for an invasion with American assistance at bases in the United States and Central America, including Guatemala, where the diary begins.—Ed.)

"Since dawn it has been obvious our departure is near. This morning at 9 about 600 men were chosen to go to a place closer to Cuba, where our airmen have been for a week. Also the Cuban commanders and the base medical team departed.

"I went to confession, but could not get my communion. Some superior orders had moved the mass up from the scheduled hour of 10 a.m., so I was late.

We all feel an atmosphere of fiesta because we are confident of a victory. I said farewell to Jose, always with his big smile; Luis was brave in his adios. We were all in military formation before they boarded the trucks and permission to sing our national anthem was asked and granted. It was a very touching farewell, though they assured us we would all meet again at "point X" before going to Cuba.

"That night I went up the hill to headquarters to see if there was any news from Carmencita, though I knew it was too soon for a message."

TUESDAY, APRIL 11

(The Washington Post reported on this date that "Cubans are about to fight Cubans for the control of their island nation, and the anti-Castro forces have the blessing of the Kennedy administration.")

"Five hundred more men left, among them many friends. I prayed all day that we would not go until I received Carmencita's letter, but it did not arrive."

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12

(In Washington, President Kennedy told a press conference that "under no circumstances" would U.S. Armed Forces intervene in Cuba and denied any anti-Castro offensive would be mounted from the United States. This was broadcast worldwide and, of course, to Cuba.)

"What was left of our troops, including the parachutists, left the base. About 1,250 men will land in Cuba. An atmosphere of happiness and confidence in victory continues.

"My only worry was leaving without news from Carmencita. But I could wait no longer, though I made one more trip for mail. I left behind a bag of clothes and a white silk handkerchief, which all my friends and the top Cuban commanders had autographed, to be sent either to Miami or, God willing, to our old home in Havana. I hope we can all read the signatures together in Cuba soon.

"The trip was horrible, loaded down with my sleeping bag, binoculars, radio and jammed inside a canvas-covered truck for 2 hours over an infernal road through mountains and precipices. We inhaled the greatest imaginable quantity of dust, which blacked out my glasses and the handkerchief I used to cover nose and mouth.

"Coming down from 6,000 to 800 feet we arrived at the airbase and had to carry our gear five blocks to a barracks. I washed from the waist up at a faucet, and afterwards felt much better. We had barely begun to relax when we were told to leave at once by plane. So we walked back the five blocks for a hurried meal—our first cold water fit to drink—and after bolting the food we waited for 2 hours on the grass.

"Destination unknown

"I had given one of the Americans a few lines dashed off to Carmencita, but got